NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

10 cents

Vol. 7, No. 29 — NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 9, 1955

The monkeys and dogs weren't stuffed

The "Darling family" of mannequins still waited, at press-time, to play their role in the Atomic Energy Commisssion's 13th and largest production before 6,000 press, military and Civil Defense observers in Nevada. The featured bomb, equivalent to 40,000 tons of TNT, tested radiation effects on dogs, monkeys and a million dollars worth of clothing, frozen food, household equipment and bomb shelters. While CD zealots honored by invitations to the show froze in pre-dawn vigils in slit trenches (most went sadly home with no Big Bang), the test was postponed day after day for bad weather. One bored reporter observed that the gamblers in Las Vegas dens wouldn't be able to hear the explosion anyway over the click of their dice. Others wondered whether for the Pentagon gamblers it would drown out the rumble of protest against such tests.

BLUSHING SEASON OVER?

Americans are making a noise about PEACE

HOPES of peace echoing through this year's tenth anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe (May 8) seemed to be inspiring the world's peoples to new activity to win peace.

Twelve of "Ike's boys" who first met the Soviet army at the Elbe River were on their way to participate in a V-E Day observation in Moscow May 9, by invitation of Soviet Elbe vets. The invitation grew out of an Elbe Link-up reunion in Washington, D. C., on April 25, engineered by "Taft Republican" Joseph Polowsky of Chicago, Elbe vets secretary (GUARDIAN, 4/4).

Breaking into headlines in many forms, the desire for peace in the U.S. was most concentrated on the defeat of Universal Military Training. The American Civil Liberties Union joined the long list of organizations opposing it, with a statement filed with the House Armed Services Committee declaring:

> "[UMT would] prepare the way psychologically for totalitarian practices, and become accepted as a regular feature of education, even in times of peace."

GETTING TOGETHER: Peace sentiment was finding its voice at the grass roots. The Minnesota Council Against UMT, led by Methodist minister Roy E. Burt (Anoka) and an advisory committee of prominent clergymen, called "freedom from military servitude" the "underlying issue" in the Pentagon's UMT bill. Groups all over the country have been meeting and sending statements to the Armed Services Comm.

An open letter to President Eisenhower advertised in the N.Y. **Times** by 48 religious and professional leaders, urging a seven-point foreign policy program of "Live and Let Live" (GUARDIAN, 5/2), is reported receiving very favorable response (Live and Let Live, c/o Rev. Clarence V. Howell, 552 Riverside Dr., N. Y. C. 27).

An "Appeal to the Living," urging Congress to adopt a resolution outlawing war and begin work on a conference for total disarmament, was being circulated by "Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War" (1805 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 5, Calif.). Organized by an auto mechanic, a church organist, working mothers, unionists, the committee's sponsors now include Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling, Dr. and Mrs. Frank Weymouth, Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, Dr.

Liberation, Paris

Robert J. Rutman, Mr. and Mrs. John F. Clewe. Hoping to build a national movement and call a convention of anti-war forces, they pose the question:

> "Which do you most fear—a frightful death by the H-bomb or the idea of joining the others, including some whose political or religious views you do not share, in order to save yourself and them and the entire world from the threat of annihilation?"

MICHIGAN PETITION: A petition to the President stating "war violates the

(Continued on Page 4)

WAR & PEACE

Pressures move Washington --- but the people must work

By Tabitha Petran

LATE last year peace hopes burgeoned when Washington seemed to acknowledge an atomic stalemate and the need for some form of co-existence; when UN Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold undertook his mission to Peking, and the China Lobby seemed to have suffered a serious setback. The mood was erased by Congress' "preventive war" resolution Jan. 24 and subsequent adventurist policies and provocations. These events last week swung the Western world back into a hopeful mood: Washington's decision to accept the most recent Chinese offer for bilateral talks, its vague promise of an eventual four-power meeting, and Eisenhower's disclosure of his contact with Soviet Defense Minister Zhukov.

The change of tactics took place in a ten-day period between the Eisenhower-Dulles warning that peace is "now in grave jeopardy," and the President's April 27 press conference where he expressed a "sixth sense" of peace prospects "on the upswing." It was dictated in part by what James Reston (N.Y. **Times**, 4/29) called "the terrific pressure" on the Administration to avoid war over Quemoy and Matsu. The pressure was reflected in the press but "even more apparent in the flood

(Continued on Page 3)

THE ANATOMY OF A COLD-WAR STOOLPIGEON

'I was imbued with progressive ardor . . . I gloried in finger-man role'

By Elmer Bendiner

EARLY in March a man's voice said on the telephone to William Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress:

"I'm Dave Brown. Do you want to see me?"

Patterson said: "I don't want to see you. but if you want to see me, you know where to find me."

To CRC officials Dave Brown, California head of the organization since early in 1954, told a story of betrayal more far-reaching, more sordid than Harvey Matusow's. He said: "I was a completely depraved creature of the FBI."

Last Monday when the CRC opened its defense before the Subversive Activities Control Board in New York's Foley Square, it faced, among others, the charge that it took the Communist Party position in assailing the FBI's methods. To prove that its comments were based on fact, not on any "line," the CRC called as its own witness ex-FBI agent Dave Brown.

BIRTH OF AN IMPULSE: Before he came to the stand Brown, 49 years old, the father of two children, set down his record as a professional traitor.

In 1932, then a member of the Communist Party, he wrestled with an impulse. He confesses now:

> "I don't recollect when I became very angry with what I considered an act of extreme bureaucracy on the part of the district leadership, and in a moment of extreme emotionalism, I went into a pay phone and called the number of the Chicago Red Squad and asked for Mike Mills, the head of the Red Squad. I remember being very excited, with a great deal of turmoil inside, and before he could get on the line, I hung up. That night I walked far into the night through the streets of Chicago, accusing myself of being an irresponsible element, a dangerous element, and resolved that such a thing could never happen to me again. . . . Years later, in Perth Amboy, N. J., during one of my periodic spells of remorse following a heavy drinking bout, I cried out to my wife that there was something rotten inside of me. . . ."

DINNER & A CHAT: Nine years later Brown yielded to that "something." In 1943 he was field organizer in New Jersey for the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, then in the CIO. Workers of the Volco Copper & Brass Co. went on strike for a 15c-an-hour pay boost and improved working conditions. Federal mediators brought the two sides together and Brown, speaking for the union, faced the company officers around a conference table During the intermission at one negotiating session, Personnel Manager Julius Kass proposed a private chat over dinner.

In a New York restaurant Brown sat down with Kass and top company executives. The talk was convivial, the drinks ample. The company told Brown they would settle for 5c an hour. Recalling the conversation Brown said he told them: "I think I can sell it to them but it's going to be tough." Kass allegedly turned to the company bosses and said: "I know what Dave's up against. Is it all right if I make him the proposition now?" The executive nodded, and Kass went on:

> "I have been authorized to work out an arrangement with you which I am sure will be satisfactory and make it worth your while."

Next day in the Hotel New Yorker's cocktail lounge Kass allegedly handed Brown an envelope containing $500, told him: "It's yours and you get another like it when the contract is signed." The contract was signed. His career as a traitor was launched

(Continued on Page 11)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Executive Editor*

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Vol. 7, No. 29 — 178 — MAY 9, 1955

"The genius of the United States is not best or most in its executives or legislators, nor in its ambassadors or authors or colleges or churches or parlors, nor even in its newspapers or inventors — but always most in the common people." — WALT WHITMAN (Preface, 1855 edition, "Leaves of Grass.")

REPORT TO READERS

Last call for FDR record

ONLY A HANDFUL now remains of two pressings of our LP record of the Roosevelt Years, "The Unforgotten Man." We produced it, with the co-operation of some of the best talent we know, to recall the great meanings of the New Deal years for those of us for whom the memory may be blurred; and in the hope that younger people might gain from it a healthy impression of a time when Americans were going forward together.

Here is an excerpt of one letter we have received:

"It brought back all the great years, years before Bob was born. . . . and very, very well done. Ought to be sold in a million copies. Strikes me there are hundreds of thousands of people whose kids are growing up, and who want to give some sense of what the 30's and the war years were like—and who want, as the record says, 'to shake the dust off our land.' You have done that, caught the need of the hour and the sense of our time. I asked Bob whether he wanted to add anything and he said: 'Just put congratulations.'"

Well, this is exactly what we hoped the record would do; this letter is typical of many we have received. A friend in Farmington, Iowa, called it "altogether inspiring," and a note from Los Angeles hoped that "everybody who has the ideal of Roosevelt in his heart will be sure to buy it and let his friends and neighbors (and some relatives, too) listen to it; it may help to bring them out of their complacency." And a doctor from Queens writes: "A good waker-upper. Thanks for a job well done."

THE BEST NEWS we have had, though, is that our record will be a main feature of the all-day meeting next Sunday, May 15, of the Minnesota Progressive Party at the Hotel Andrews in Minneapolis. This is good news not only because "The Unforgotten Man" will get a big hearing, but because among the leaders gathering from all over Minnesota will be a great New Dealer, and one of the few left who still stands up for it—former Governor and U.S. Senator Elmer Benson, national chairman of the Progressive Party.

Governor Benson has been under strict medical care for several years and his appearance at his State meeting next Sunday will warm many a heart.

The conference will have representation from all Congressional Districts in the state, with panels on farm, labor, civil rights and legislation. The theme of the meeting is "Where do we go from here?" and the Minnesotans are considering an invitation to other progressive organizations for a national caucus at or around Labor Day of this year, looking toward 1956.

Sounds to us like the best setting possible for a campaign message from F.D.R.

—THE EDITORS

Dear General Howley

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Here is a letter I have sent to Gen. Frank L. Howley in connection with his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee:

"There was a quaintly paradoxical quality to the viewpoint you expressed, when commenting on President Eisenhower's exchange of letters with Marshal Zhukov, to the effect that one should not 'sit down with murderers and discuss business.' As the commandant of West Berlin, you must frequently have found yourself in just that position. Nor do I recall any protest from you at that time against our Government's policy of dealing with ex-Nazi generals and with German financiers who formerly subsidized Hitler's murderous aggressions. Was your characterization of the exchange of letters between Eisenhower and Zhukov then intended as self-criticism?

"Also, your reason for characterizing Zhukov as a 'murderer' was somewhat obscure. Is it that you hold Zhukov to blame for the large number of members of the Nazi Wehrmacht who were killed by Red Army soldiers under his command?

"Your recommendation that we launch a 'preventive war' against China and the Soviet Union, and thereby instigate a third world war, is less ambiguous. It is quite clearly an incitement to mass murder on an unprecedented scale. As a father of three sons, and as one who holds the lives of all children to be equally dear, I must say I regard this proposal of yours as more criminal than curious."

Albert E. Kahn

Keep the angel!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Please, for heaven's sake and all the awesome-looking angels that may inhabit that celestial place, DO NOT, as your letter-writer Neal D. Thomas suggests, take away from your pages the darling little angel created by your wonderful cartoonist!

In these times of great upheaval this little angel makes a powerful appeal to everything humane in human beings. He is, in a way, the guardian angel of the human race, for he indicates the earthly quality necessary to be a good human being—his appeal to the Collective Good in all of us!

Miriam Stern

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Don't you dare eliminate our darling, bratty, brassy Angel; why, he is the trade mark of our paper. Religious people regard humor and laughter as profanity. They feel self-empowered to interfere with everything and everybody. Our paper is not a church paper, hence that person has no legitimate cause for complaint.

W. P. C.

•

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Robert Joyce's Guardian Angel may wear his halo at the same rakish angle that a cub reporter dons his hat to go after a scoop, but self-confidence is to be admired. That tough little wise-guy is always on the job with courage born of conviction. Let readers save their pot-shots for the more ethereal kind which lulls men first into wishful thinking then into total oblivion.

Marjorie Gross

Jesus the radical

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

I am writing to thank you very much for the very good mention you gave of our local Peoples Church in the April 18 GUARDIAN.

In this day, when many churches and clergymen are becoming more and more apologists for the big business system, it is the duty of real Christians to make known the religion of Jesus, the great humanist radical, who addressed his blessings to the common people. The teachings and practises of Jesus were revolutionary and aimed at the destruction of all ruling groups, as also, the enslavement and exploitation of man by man, which is the reason the Roman ruling class was so bitterly opposed to Christianity.

The radical tradition has always existed, in the True Churches, which teaches the use of the class struggle as the most effective weapon of constructive social change in a class society. The goal is STILL that of the ever-beautiful "Magnificat" (Luke 1.52, 53): to "put down the mighty from their seats, to exalt them of low degree, to fill the hungry with good things, and to send the rich empty away."

Rev. Phillip B. Oliver, D. D.

Albert Einstein

TOPANGA, CALIF.

Men worthy of the name will take your tools
And build with them the home for all mankind
Which you made possible. Till then we draw
Strength from your strength to make a world at peace
Where things serve man and men no more are ground
To ashes in the slavery of things.

Hugh Hardyman

Sun in the desert

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Enclosed $5 as a contribution from a few friends. Although we live in the "Valley of the Sun," the GUARDIAN is our only sunshine in this desert. The only two papers out here are strictly NAM propaganda organs and are really hell-bent for war. Keep punching.

Max Mandell

Security measures

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

It's dark outside, look under the bed
Watch out for grandma, she might be a red.
Burn all the books, crawl under the rug
Edgar will watch us, all comfy and snug.

Bill

Carrefour, Paris

"I don't have to carry a gun—I'm the one who carries the pocket A-bombs."

His stand on Joe

KINGSPORT, TENN.

McCarthy is one man of whom I can say: I am against everything he stands for and for everything he is against.

A. Preston Gray

Case of Dr. Peters

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Our attention has been drawn to a news article on p. 6, May 2, 1955, of the GUARDIAN, the "Case of Dr. John Punnett Peters." The third column starts as follows: "By last month . . . a petition to Eisenhower . . . circulated with an urgent plea to thousands of physicians. . . ."

It is clear that your reporter had a copy of a draft of the petition as well as an accompanying letter in which the last sentence reads as follows: "So that we may conform with the protocol on matters addressed to the President, we urge that you refrain from releasing to the press this letter and petition." In our view, the appearance of excerpts from the petition represents, therefore: (1) a grossly careless or a willfully and knowingly unethical reporter, (2) slipshod editing for confirmation of factual data, and (3) violation of newspaper ethics by advance publication of this material. Nowhere in the article is it stated that the petition had already reached the President. Nor has it officially reached him.

To have published the excerpts without knowing that the petition had reached the President, to say nothing of the above request urging non-release to the press, makes reprehensible the action of the editors permitting publication of the article. We, as well as all the other initiating physicians, had been and still are deeply concerned that knowledge of the contemplated action should not reach the public in advance of a Supreme Court decision in the case. It is our view that such public release is unsound, unwise, and could possibly introduce unfavorable elements into the matter if done in advance of a decision rendered by the Supreme Court.

Whether we are right or wrong in such opinion is not at all pertinent. That you may differ is conceivable. But that you take advantage of information not ethically arrived at is to engage in an action not worthy of a newspaper.

Paul Klemperer, M. D.
Benjamin Segal, M. D.

The GUARDIAN regrets any offense to the petition initiators, to whose desire that it not be published our attention had not been drawn. Ed.

Who said not dependable?

BLOOMING PRAIRIE, MINN.

A person past 88 is not very dependable, so won't pledge monthly payments. Being a charter member of the GUARDIAN (which is always welcome), which I believe gives more facts and truth than this deceiving propaganda I get through some other publications, I am enclosing herewith $10 for which please continue my subscription and will make up the dollar-a-month payment.

O. K. Benson

How crazy can you get dept.

LONDON (UP) — A British physician suggested Friday that in the event of an atomic war, the human race should store male germ cells in a hiding place, safe from radiation, so they could be used for reproduction after a nuclear war ends. Dr. C. O. Carter wrote in the medical weekly, The Lancet, that such a step would be "a prudent precaution" if war appeared imminent. After the war ended, he said, the survivors could use the stored male germ cells "rather than their own damaged germ plasm."

—Miami Herald, April 9.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: D. Stevens, Miami Beach, Fla.

What about this 'Soviet colonialism' business?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At Bandoeng, where the very word "colonialism" was poison, some delegates echoed the myth of "Soviet colonialism." This is the line of Western colonial powers who use it to argue that if they granted their colonies independence these would fall prey to the "new and more dangerous Soviet colonialism"—a fate worse than death.

But what does colonialism mean? It means the occupation and domination of a territory by foreigners: 1) The top government members are foreigners, appointed by foreigners; 2) The army is officered and controlled by foreigners; 3) The economy is controlled by foreigners, and the policy has been to prevent industrialization; 4) Education is controlled by foreigners, and the policy has been to give only the kind that will enable colonial peoples to do the work assigned to them, with little if any higher education; 5) Foreigners "represent" colonial peoples abroad, make trade agreements, plan and control exports and imports. The peoples native to the area have no direct representation, no control over their lives, land, resources, domestic and foreign affairs.

None of these conditions exist in any of the new Peoples' Democracies. In all of them the people native to the area control their own development for their own well-being, not foreigners' profit.

The colonial powers, infuriated by the fact that since World War II the U.S.S.R. has acquired many allies and friends among its neighbors, first called these allies satellites, and now call them colonies in a desperate effort to prove that the U.S.S.R. is as bad as themselves. Now there are satellites in the world who unhappily are dependent on the big powers; in fact there are about as many satellite nations as there are colonies—and most of them are in the Western camp. But let us not be confused as to what is a friendly ally, a reluctant satellite, or a colony. The UN is not confused: it has an official list of the world's colonies, all of which are held by the Western powers.

Eslanda Robeson

BANDOENG HAD A WORD FOR IT

'Free-worlders' shoot it out in Indo-China

By Kumar Goshal

WITHIN a week of the 29 Afro-Asian nations' denunciation at Bandoeng of "imperialism in all its forms," imperialist chickens were coming to roost in bloodshed and chaos in the southern, free-world half of Vietnam. Much of the city of Saigon was destroyed by fire and shell as mercenary and "religious" armies, armed "for defense against communism" on the one hand by France and on the other by the U.S., shot it out in a naked contest for power. All the groups involved were led by men who—like Chief of State Bao Dai, who sat out the shooting in his French Riviera villa and sent an occasional cable to the contestants—were Japanese collaborators in World War II.

Washington's man in the shambles was Roman Catholic Premier Diem, wartime Japanese collaborator on whom U.S. Catholic leaders have put their money since 1948. (In that year Bishop Fulton Sheen, accompanying Cardinal Spellman, said in Saigon cathedral: "Old Europe is politically dead. Cardinal Spellman's Far East visit is the best proof of the interest the Roman Catholic Church has in the Far East.") Highly unpopular, Diem heads a regime in which his family hold most of the key positions; one of his brothers is bishop of Vinh-Long, another heads the Catholic unions.

FRANCE'S ANTI-REDS: Challenging Diem for power were the Binh Xuyen gang of ex-river pirates now running Saigon's prostitution and police; the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao "sects." Barely organized at the time of Japan's capitulation, these groups have since built up modern armies or guerrilla forces of 8,000, 100,000 and 50,000 respectively, according to the Paris **France-Observateur** (4/14). Since 1948, 1946 and 1947 respectively, when they threw France their support against

BAO DAI
It's fun in Cannes

Vietnamese nationalist forces, France has made it a policy to arm and train them and force Bao Dai to recognize their authority over large areas where they hold feudal sway. The present clash, said the N.Y. **Times** (5/1), results from "a deep and open conflict between the big powers directly involved—the U.S. and France."

The disciplined Cao Dai with their own Pope at Tayninh, and the Hoa Hao whom France entrenched in their rich rice region between Saigon and the Cambodian frontier when they put up a fanatical fight against the Vietminh, have their own courts, police and fiscal systems and "have not the slightest intention of yielding their privileges and ambitions" (**France-Observateur**). The Binh Xuyen's concern is more frankly commercial: its appetite has been whetted by its lush income from brothels and gambling, from which it has sent a $2 million annual commission to Bao Dai at Cannes. Its top general and Saigon police chief, Le Van Vien, was sentenced to 15 years' hard labor before the war for piracy.

U.S.'s ANTI-REDS: For the French, said **France-Observateur** analyzing the core of the conflict,

> ". . . Diem appears profoundly as 'the Americans' man' who no longer believes in the efficacity of France's presence. . . . Already U.S. military instructors are replacing in large degree the French instructors with the [Diem] government forces. The materiel of the 'national' army is entirely American. The U.S. military services have been so extended that some do not hesitate to speak of a veritable embryo of an expeditionary force. The temptation may therefore be great for some people to give their support to all those, whatever their real motives, who fight the Diem government and have a chance to overturn it. . . . It is . . . hard to dispute that at present the French military authorities in S. Vietnam have a favorable attitude toward the three big feudal groups, which are now the surest partisans of the 'French presence' . . . "

Newspaper readers were told that Diem had a democratic solution. He planned an election which, said the April **Cahiers Internationaux** (Paris), would empower him to nominate 33 deputies "representing" provincial and city districts in N. Vietnam.

DEATH & VERMOUTH: In Saigon, as U.S. representative Gen. Collins shuttled back and forth to Washington to discuss what to do with Diem and Bao Dai, the official death-roll reached many hundreds with thousands wounded, and the French marched in 10,000 Moroccan troops. In the city's French-protected zone "the sidewalks were full of French and Americans drinking aperitifs" while blocks away there were "the thump of mortars, the whine of rifle-fire, screams of ambulance sirens, cries of newly wounded and sobs of newly bereaved" (**AP**, 4/29).

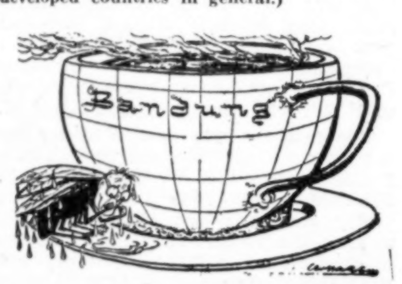
A U.S. Navy transport-load of refugees lured to the "free world" by Roman Catholic propaganda from N. Vietnam arrived to find half the city in flames. (**Cahiers** reported that many N. Vietnam Catholics who came south "now demand to go home; a ship leaving Saigon for the north recently carried 600 of them; others are going home on foot—encouraged by French priests who disapprove of Diem's maneuverings."

French-U.S. conflict over Vietnam has been brought to a head by French desire for "co-existence and even maintenance of economic and cultural relations" with N. Vietnam, while Washington insists on regarding N. Vietnam "as a menace and S. Vietnam as a barrier against it that must be maintained and strengthened" (**NYT**, 4/29). At GUARDIAN press time, fighting had temporarily ceased in Saigon and a plane from Washington had once more brought back Gen. Collins. Said the **Times** (5/1):

> "Whatever he says or whatever he does not say will do more to decide the future of Vietnam than all the machine-gunners in Saigon streets."

TWO ROADS: In the days following Bandoeng, Washington convened a SEATO meeting in the Philippines to plan "massive retaliation" against "Communist aggression" in the Far East (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 4/25), and planned an "American base" in Formosa "manned by U.S. Marines" (**NYT**, 5/1). Meanwhile India said it would send its permanent UN delegate Krishna Menon to Peking, for discussions on Formosa on which he will report to Nehru before the latter leaves for Moscow in June.

(NEXT WEEK: Bandoeng's possible long-range effects on S. Africa, Kenya, N. Africa, Japan, pro-Washington governments invited to send representatives to China, and underdeveloped countries in general.)



Rude Pravo, Prague

"That tea is too hot."
(Dulles before Bandoeng said he hoped the conference would be a mere tea-party.)

Petran

(Continued from Page 1)

of communications [to] the White House from powerful institutions all over the country." French opinion attributed the change to "China's prestige and power which cannot be denied after the Bandoeng Conference" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 4/27). The British credited their own steady pressure.

"ENEMY" UNSCARED: The Dulles-Carney-Radford war threats had succeeded in frightening only U.S. allies and the powerful U.S. groups which originated the "strong policy" of which this adventurism is an integral part. As the GUARDIAN pointed out (2/7), the "preventive war" resolution and accompanying threats were apparently designed to cover a limited retreat: to bargain, under this blackmail, the evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu (which all four Joint Chiefs have testified are neither "vital" nor "essential" to Formosa's "defense") for allied support of the U.S. seizure of Formosa. Having failed to put over this "bargain" by threats, Washington is now—from a much weaker political position—trying other methods.

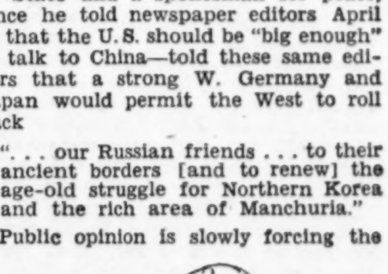
But even now, as it seeks to satisfy public opinion that its aims are peaceful, its policy's basic adventurism crops up. A case in point is the proposal, reportedly brought back from the Far East by Joint Chiefs Chairman Radford and Undersecy. of State Robertson, to station U.S. forces on Formosa. China conceivably might—if granted its UN seat, normalization of relations with the West and possession of the offshore islands—agree to a settlement whereby, wihout giving up its claim to Formosa, it did not gain possession for the time being. But establishing U.S. bases on that island could only appear as a new step in Washington's preparations for a Far East war. If Washington sees evacuation of the offshore islands as a concession by which its hold on Formosa may be strengthened rather than as "a stage toward relinquishing it," and wins British support for that position, then

> ". . . the real struggle would be to come and it would be long indeed before there was hope for peace in the Far East" (**New Statesman & Nation**, 4/30):

THE ROLLBACKERS: Similarly, while the President's friendly remarks about Zhukov introduced a pleasant note, Washington's rigidity in Europe shows no signs of softening. Sen. Walter George—built up as an unofficial Secy. of State and a spokesman for peace, since he told newspaper editors April 24 that the U.S. should be "big enough" to talk to China—told these same editors that a strong W. Germany and Japan would permit the West to roll back

> ". . . our Russian friends . . . to their ancient borders [and to renew] the age-old struggle for Northern Korea and the rich area of Manchuria."

Public opinion is slowly forcing the



Francois in Tribune des Nations

"Didn't I tell you you wouldn't have any more headaches?"

West into talks with the U.S.S.R. But instead of seizing this opportunity to rescue their policy from defeats already visible ahead, the Western powers are meeting first to set up a "united front" against the fourth power. They are counting on using their "position of strength" to dictate German reunification on their own terms and, at a minimum, to continue their policy of making W. Germany an instrument to accomplish that rollback to Russia's "ancient borders."

PROBLEMS IN EUROPE: This policy is based on dangerous miscalculations. Last Jan. 15, Moscow called the West's bluff by agreeing to the Eden plan for free all-German elections. Since then Western officials and press have shunned like the plague any mention of such elections. The West's "alarm" that the U.S.S.R. will revive this offer was described by **NYT** (5/1). A Soviet offer to Germany to unite in neutrality, it said, "will provide the Western powers with the most difficult problem they have yet faced in Europe since the end of the war."

The Soviet-Austrian agreement on a treaty providing for Austria's neutrality and independence has already had impact in W. Germany. It was reflected in the recent Lower Saxony elections, fought mainly on the issue of foreign policy: Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democrats won only 26% of the vote as against 35% in 1953. (They were able to take over the government since the former Socialist-Refugee party coalition won too few seats for a combined majority.) It is also reflected in what **NYT** (5/1) called "something stirring . . . change in the air in Europe as spring deepens." British Labour MP Richard Crossman wrote (**NS&N**, 4/30):

> ". . . This year, throughout the Federal Republic, the wintry climate of cold war has suddenly changed and German loyalty to NATO is breaking up like an ice-floe in Spring."

THE UNRECEDING TIDE: Not only W. German loyalty to NATO is coming into question. Washington's adventurism tends to deepen the internal contradictions of the Western alliance. It runs ever more strongly against the allies' national interests and provokes the building, however slowly and painfully, of a national resistance. This building process, not yet far advanced, is apparent in the struggle within the British Labour Party to end Labour support of the cold war. Recent French Cantonal elections, in which some local Socialist Party groups defied a party ruling to co-operate with Communists, showed that the building is going on from the ground up in France. As a result of local withdrawals in each other's favor on the second ballot both Socialist and Communist votes rose.

In Italy the election of Giovanni Gronchi, militant Catholic of the Christian Democratic Party's left wing, to succeed President Einaudi shows the same trend. Elected with the support of the Communist and Socialist parties, Gronchi has been (said the Socialist **Avanti**) "one of the few Christian Democratic exponents who fought bravely for an opening to the Left"—that is, for admission of Left Socialists to the government. His election brought "deep dismay among those who until lately were convinced that the Communist tide in Italy was receding" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 4/27).

On this tenth anniversary of the end of World War II, Europeans are more hopeful of avoiding a third than at any time since the "cold war." Realization of this hope requires from the American people new and sustained efforts to scrap the "strong policy," lest new adventures again sharpen tensions.

THURGOOD MARSHALL ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

'North needs the same kind of dedication we have in the South'

IN THE SOUTH, where school segregation is law, the fight to end it will be in the courts. But in the North, where it is a matter of custom, practice or housing, school segregation must be ended by community action.

THURGOOD MARSHALL
A tale of two circus tents

This was the view of Thurgood Marshall, chief NAACP counsel, who has just completed argument on school desegregation before the Supreme Court. He spoke to an audience of 400 at N. Y.'s Community Church April 27.

The meeting was sponsored by the Intergroup Committee on New York's Public Schools (202 W. 136th St., N. Y. 30) which was formed a year ago, under chairman Dr. Kenneth Clark, to alert the public and press for action on segregated schools. Sponsors are the Urban League, NAACP, United Parents' Assn., and 60 other groups. At its suggestion the N. Y. Board of Education last December established a Commission of Citizens to obtain facts and recommend a plan of action.

FLATBUSH & BAYOU: Marshall said:

"The only difference between an all-white school in Brooklyn and one in Mississippi is that the one in Brooklyn doesn't have 'white' on it. If they can end segregation in two counties in Arkansas, in St. Louis, in 25 of 55 counties in West Va., in half of the Municipal junior colleges in Texas, we can do it in Harlem. . . . In Bayou, Miss., 9,000 citizens met in two circus tents to end segregation. . . . Citizens, taxpayers, parent groups must make it clear to the city that they will not tolerate schools set up to be primarily of one race. . . . We will not be satisfied as long as there is a single class which is entirely one race.

"If we can get in the North the kind of dedication we have in the South—people ready to fight for integration even at the risk of their jobs—we would succeed. If somebody slapped your child in the street, you'd go out there with a baseball bat to fight for him. Every day that your child attends a segregated school, he is being hurt even more than if he were slapped."

FACTS ON "GRADUALISM": Citing Defense Secy. Wilson's recent statement that segregation's end in the Armed Forces had saved money, improved efficiency and halted racial friction, Marshall criticized the "gradual approach." He said:

"Scientific studies have shown that segregation can be removed by one stroke. The more it is delayed the more trouble it causes. While you are trying to educate the community to good things, the other side is solidifying its position, and public officials tend to lean to that side. It just is not so that every time you integrate you have trouble."

For New York Marshall had specific suggestions: school officials must take positive action to stop any increase in segregation; in areas set off by natural barriers, "we must grant transfers in the interest of integration and deny them for reasons of escaping it"; in other areas "we must shift students among existing schools"; no new school buildings should be built where they can become segregated schools.

COMMUNITY ACTION: Parents reported on problems. Mrs. Dorothy Ransom of Queens, speaking for Mrs. Betty Granger, **Amsterdam News** columnist, told how Mrs. Granger's daughter had been barred from Forrest Hills High, because zone lines had been arbitrarily drawn to keep the school all-white. Mrs. Mabel Johnson told of a citizens' high school rezoning committee working in Brooklyn to change regulations which have permitted only 93 Negro students in Wingate High School, on the edge of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Negro section.

Mrs Viola Gaines told how her son, with good grades at an all-Negro school in the Bronx, tranferred to an integrated school and found himself two years behind his 8th grade class. Mrs. Annie Stein, a white parent from Brooklyn, said parents in her area felt their children were being denied the experience of knowing somebody in authority of another race because there were no Negro teachers at P. S. 246 or Erasmus High.

How the fight to end jimcrow public schools is going

ALMOST a year after its first ruling that segregated schools were unconstitutional, the Supreme Court on April 14-17 heard arguments on how to put it into effect. The court will probably issue its final decree before its summer recess early in June. It will affect 10 million white and 2½ million Negro children in 17 states where segregation is mandatory and four states where it is permitted.

THE SOUTHERNERS: Attorneys for four states (S. Car., Kans., Va., Del.) and the Dist. of Columbia against which the suits were brought, and spokesmen for six other "friend of the court" states, argued against immediate integration. Carolina said it would not desegregate until the year 2015, and with Virginia and N. Carolina—which warned of "animosities unparallelled since . . . the original KKK"—said integration would end the public school system. Most Southern states asked the court not to formulate a detailed decree but to remand the cases back to district courts, without a time limit for integration, leaving them "local option" power to effect it as they saw fit.

Kansas and D. C. said they had ended segregation and no special decree was necessary. In both, white students may now attend schools out of their residential districts, but Negroes may not—an "option" which, said the NAACP's Robert L. Carter, would permit segregation for several more years. Delaware, Maryland and Arkansas, reported integration had begun; Oklahoma said taxes were recently voted for integrated schools

THE U. S. GOVERNMENT: Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff asked a middle course, which the **Afro-American** called "a disappointing letdown." He said the court "obviously cannot treat all these cases as a lump" to please the South, and offered "a counsel of moderation with firmness" to please segregation opponents. He asked the court to remand cases to district courts and order states and localities to present them with a plan within 90 days to end segregation "as soon as possible." The Sobeloff plan could lead to a drawn-out legal maneuver. District courts could rule on "integration plans" without being bound by the Supreme Court's ruling. District judges in the South might not readily approve an integration plan, or if they did, its opponents might further stall with an injujnction to prevent its going into effect.

"BEGIN NOW": NAACP attorneys asked the court to rule that Negroes be admitted to schools "forthwith" next September, or at the most, by Sept., 1956. Although the actual decrees would apply only to the areas where suits were brought, Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel, said a firm hand by the courts in similar suits voiding the "white primary" brought about its end. Charging the Southern attorneys general with desiring to "postpone the enforcement of a Constitutional right," Marshall cited an example of the delay that might follow without a "forthwith" decree: five years after the Sweatt and McLaurin Supreme Court decision ending segregation in colleges, Florida courts are still trying to keep Negroes out of Florida law school.

If the court decided on gradual desegregation, the NAACP asked that the process begin immediately—with local districts required to file periodic progress reports to district courts—and be completed by Sept., 1956.

Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

will of God" urges him to negotiate, abolish weapons of mass extermination, reconcile conflicts peaceably through UN. Sponsors include Devere Allen, editor, Worldover Press; Mary Beck, pro tem pres., Detroit Common Council; Emily Greene Balch, hon. chairman, Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom; Jerome Davis, author; John R. Mott, Nobel peace prize winner and hon. pres., World Council of Churches; Prof. John Somerville, author of **The Philosophy of Peace**; Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, Raleigh, N. C. Address: Peace Petition Committee, Central Methodist Church, 23 E. Adams Av., Detroit, Mich.

WELCOME TO FINLAND: The World Peace Council reported that 30,000 organizations had been invited to send delegates to Helsinki for the Assembly, called for June 22-29. 100 delegates each were expected from Britain, India and Sweden, 50 from Canada, 60 from Japan. In extending a welcome to them, Prof. Felix Iversen, vice-pres. of the World Fedn. of UN Assns., said:

"Finland is peculiarly suited to receive a World Assembly . . . Finland is a bridge between East and West; with both we have extensive economic and cultural relations."

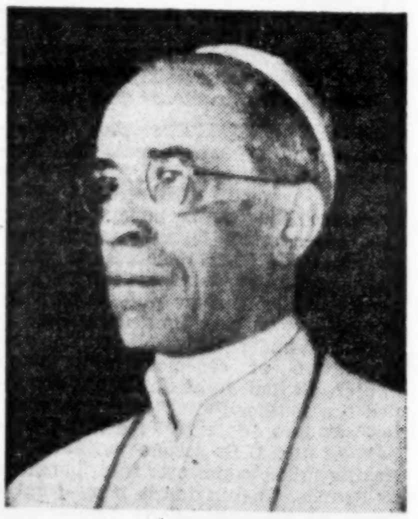
Atomic weapons and disarmament, military blocs, co-operation between nations are on the tentative agenda of the conference, which hopes to "bring together representatives of all tendencies and organizations for peace." The World Peace Council has been conducting a petition campaign on atomic war since January, asking the destruction of stocks of atomic weapons and an end to their manufacture and declaring that

". . . any government that lets loose atomic war will forfeit the trust of its people and find itself condemned by every people of the world."

In Toronto, Canada, over 2,000 miles from the Nevada bomb-testing grounds, 65% of the day shift at the Trane Co. Plant 1 were worried enough about radiation to sign a petition against atomic wars and tests. United Electrical Workers business agent Jeff Hurley gave as the reason for concern the quarantining of the Kodak plant in Mt. Dennis, 2,100 miles from Nevada, while the company examined the water supply. British Nobel laureate Prof. Frederick Soddy, co-discoverer of atomic energy, cabled to the Canadian Chemical Processing Magazine an appeal to Canadian scientists "to demand a moratorium, forbidding further mass liberation [of radiation]. Even so-called peaceful applications pollute the atmosphere."

TO STUDY RADIATION: The Natl. Academy of Sciences was sufficiently concerned about radiation from continuing atomic tests to launch an official study of radiation's biological effects. In his Easter message, Pope Pius XII repeated his warnings on radiation dangers and urged the world's leaders to "arrange treaties which will insure peace, start a progressive disarmament and thus spare humanity the destruction of a new war." Last Easter the Pope had asked for a ban on atomic, biological and chemical warfare, "always . . . subordinate to legitimate self-defense." But later in the year, addressing the World Medical Assn. in Rome, he said:

"When . . . the application of this method [of warfare] leads to such a spreading of evil that it altogether escapes the control of man, its use must be rejected as immoral. In this case it is no longer a question of defense against injustice and of necessary safeguards for legitimate possessions, but of annihilation, pure and simple, of all human life within the sphere of action. That is not allowed at any cost. . . ."



POPE PIUS XII
"A spreading of evil"

Reporting the speech, the **Catholic Herald**, St. Louis, Mo., weekly, said:

"In this address the Pope has for the first time absolutely and finally condemned under any circumstances a certain mode of warfare . . . the Holy Father seems to pass from the hypothetical type of moral teaching . . . : 'If certain conditions are not fulfilled, then . . .' to, in effect, the 'categorical one: 'An all-annihilating weapon can never be used under any condition. . . .'"

Practical disarmament

Total, universal, simultaneous disarmament, to be completed within a definite time, ending armies, navies, and air forces, conscription and the manufacture of conventional and unconventional weapons, is the only disarmament that requires minimum external control. . . .

The prohibition should be written into the constitution of every state, and proclaimed throughout the world. It would be impossible to violate it without immediate knowledge. Every man conscripted, every factory worker producing war material, would know that he was breaking the law of his country and of mankind. . . .

Though it is possible secretly to circumvent partial disarmament, to overstep quotas, etc., it is impossible to arm secertly per se. When such action was even suspected would be the moment for a UN peace commission to investigate. "A breach of peace" would not begin with an act of war, but with the first preparation for war. . . .

—Columnist Dorothy Thompson, in **Peace Action** (March).

OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

The Townsend movement and the fight for unity

By Ione Kramer

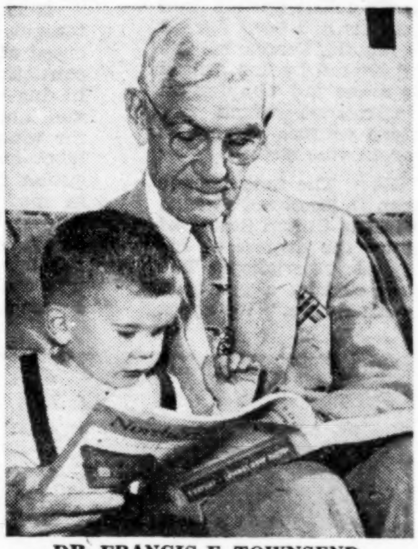
ONE DAY in 1933 Dr. Francis Townsend, a retired public health official in his 60's, looked out the window of his Long Beach, Calif., home and saw three elderly women digging in a neighbor's garbage can for food scraps. He was moved to write to a local paper urging that something be done about aged poor. Spurred by a tremendous response, he devised a plan for a national pension of $200 a month. Thus began the "Townsend Movement," the nation's first protest movement among the aged.

With fervor of the "old-time religion"—plus hard-driving organization—Townsend clubs sprang up across the country. At its height in 1936, the group claimed 5 million members; it was estimated that 25 million had signed Townsend petitions. In San Diego, Calif., alone the movement claimed 80 clubs with 30,000 dues-paying members, 1/5 of the city's population.

IT WAS THE SPUR: Former Secy. of Labor Frances Perkins has said that Townsend activities caused President Roosevelt to include the Social Security plan in his 1934 legislative program. Most social scientists, while disagreeing with Townsend economics, credit the movement with arousing the public backing which forced the passage of Social Security.

Twenty years later elderly Americans are still poor, and there is a tremendous grassroots protest. Although few are aware of them, small groups in many states, most often without funds, do a much-needed job representing senior citizens in old age assistance hearings, and carrying on campaigns to raise state OAA minimums. They work toward the day when a national pension plan will eliminate the need for 48 individual state fights each year.

They include, in addition to the Townsendites, the largest, most highly organized and vociferous national group, the Natl. Institute for Social Welfare led by George McLain, whose stronghold is in California; the Natl. Pension Federation with a Washington newsletter and clubs in several states; the Pension Unions of Idaho and Washington; the Old Age Assistance Union of Illinois; a group in Texas which last year led a successful campaign to raise welfare minimums.



DR. FRANCIS E. TOWNSEND
. . . and a junior citizen

THE COMMON GOALS: In states like Massachusetts and Colorado, pensioners' strength has resulted in relatively high OAA payments ($74 and $69) and more responsive Congressmen.

Most organizations of the aged have these common aims:

- Establish the principle that an adequate standard of living is the right of all the aged, and raise payments to such a level. Goal of most groups is $100 a month; it was suggested by the Progressive Party in its 1952 platform.
- Lower the age limit to 60.
- An end to the "means test-case worker" system under OAA which, they claim, places a stigma on 2½ million recipients through no fault of their own.

The groups differ on how to achieve this program. Some seek to expand the Social Security system adequately to cover everybody outright. Others want to dump it and substitute a national non-insurance pension as advocated by the Townsend group.

CAPITALISTIC BUGS: The second group views its plan not primarily as a pension, but a "program to distribute purchasing power . . . thereby creating general prosperity throughout the entire nation." The last Townsend convention keynoter said they seek to "eliminate the 'bug'" in the capitalist system.

They would have the government pay equal pensions to all over 60, financed by a 2% tax on all business receipts and on personal income over $250 a month. Pension payments, which would vary according to the amount of tax collected in any month, would average around $135 monthly, they say.

Their critics are against the sales-tax-type financing and basing pensions on the ups-and-downs of business conditions which senior citizens' spending alone could not correct.

Strong point of the Townsend group—still led by the patriarchal Dr. Townsend, now 88, who expects to be succeeded by his son—is the 20-year education in lobbying they have given their members.

SEE 3d PARTY ONE DAY: The **Townsend National Weekly** offers crystal-clear instructions for individuals and clubs in writing and buttonholing Congressmen. Opposing Nixon-type red-baiting, they have spoken favorably of a labor third party some day, and believe, in the words of a writer recently quoted by Townsend:

> "Senior Americans have a hidden power to change the face of American politics at any time they deem it necessary or desirable—by simply mustering their strength at the polls."

In recent years, most existing national lobbying for the aged has defended existing Social Security gains against cuts or return of authority to the states. With these dangers for the time averted by last year's Social Security amendments, and with the increasing interest in problems of the aged, the time may be ripe for a new look at the problems. A bipartisan bill introduced by Sen. Potter (R-Mich.) and backed by 35 Congressmen calls for a 10-member "Commission on the Aging and the Aged" to gather information and make recommendations on jobs, income, health, housing and use of leisure time.

FIGHT FOR UNITY: Although $100 pension bills have been introduced regularly into Congress—this year by Reps. Tollefson and Westland (R-Wash.) and Lane (D-Mass.)—no one has yet come up with a detailed workable plan attracting wide support. Temporary aid for those on OAA might be gained by raising the level of federal participation in the joint federal-state program—a bill by Sen. Long (D-La.) would raise the federal aid ceiling from the present $55 to $75—but payment levels would still be subject to state politics.

Some yeoman grassroots work in attempting to organize all the pension groups for united work is being done by the Natl. Federation for Old Age Security. Its co-chairman, Alice B. Woodroofe (710 S. Jefferson, Spokane 4, Wash.) and Louise Dennis (R. 1, St. Maries, Ida.), both long experienced in pension groups, claim affiliates in 30 states after only one year's work. They aimed at a joint fight for immediate state improvements parallel with a campaign for a national old age pension and national health legislation.

Townsend National Weekly

"Don't forget Operation Mailbag. Why not write a letter to your Congressman today?"

(Future articles will deal with the fight for specific gains in California and other states, and trade union contract pensions.)

FLIGHT FROM THE 'FREE WORLD'

Peace is on the move in Germany; refugees are moving 'in reverse'

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian special correspondent

ERFURT, GERMAN DEM. REPUBLIC

WITH the W. German rearmament treaties making it impossible for the occupying powers to negotiate on Germany unity, Adenauer's Federal Republic government has done its best to destroy the basis for talks between the Germans themselves. But many and varied discussions I have had in both the German republics make it clear that the German people have other views. The 43 million in the West and 18 million in the East must forge their own unity if Germany is to be re-united—the most important question in nearly all of their minds.

At the W. German peace conference in Duisburg, where some 700 delegates pledged to resist their country's remilitarization and supported the Vienna Appeal peace signing drive, the W. German movement showed itself to be attracting—like the British—a much broader support. The religious representation was noteworthy. The conference cheered when one speaker said he had written to the Pope asking if he would follow up his condemnation of A-bombs by ordering all Christians to oppose atomic war. Another Roman Catholic drew cheers when he said:

"When I am accused of being a Communist because I oppose atomic weapons I say, then the Pope must also be a Communist."

A young boy came to the microphone and said: "If Adenauer wants soldiers, we'll buy him some tin ones." Prolonged applause greeted the delegates from the G.D.R. (E. Germany). While this conference represented those Germans with the courage to struggle for peace, it unquestionably reflected the demand for unity by the vast majority of W. Germans. In face of that feeling, creation of an army based as it must be on the country's permanent division is a formidable task.

WESTERN REFUGEES: Here in the G.D.R., the demand for an end to the policy of the London and Paris agreements is equally strong. During the past year there has been far more contact between the two sides. From the West, hundreds of delegations have visited the G.D.R.: trade unionists have talked to fellow-unionists in the East; peasants have seen how the big estates have been divided, how co-operative farms and state tractor stations have made life better; artists and writers have observed the G.D.R.'s care for art, literature and music.

Thousands from the West have come to settle in the G.D.R. For anyone accustomed to press stories of Eastern refugees to the West, it is especially interesting to meet these Germans. An example is a young woman who works in an Erfurt typewriter factory. Her husband—who will shortly join her here—could not earn enough in the West to keep their four children all under 12. Here, for a few marks a month, the young children are cared for in the factory children's home; she herself and the children in school have meals at nominal prices; her rent is about ⅓ of what she paid in the West. Food on the ration—meat, butter, sugar—costs less, and she can afford to buy more at the unrationed price. In her section of the factory, 10 out of 40 have come from the West. Many others, who in the East listened to the talk of the "golden West" but were disillusioned, came back at the earliest opportunity.

The G.D.R. has many difficulties still to overcome; I heard plenty of grumbles. But ask most of the grumblers whether they are prepared to lose the social service, the sick pay, the holiday pay, the opportunities for higher education, the equal pay for women which they have already won. They soon find the answer.

Buggy men face facts of life

NEW ORLEANS, (AP)—The carriage makers finally have agreed that the automobile is here to stay.

The Carriage Wagon Woodstock Implement Association held its 75th annual convention. Four delegates showed up.

"We're gone," F. F. Stice of Fayetteville, Ark., said. "We've just got to face the truth. Besides the gas engine, we got all this stuff of flying saucers, jets and now the atomic—Lord have mercy on our souls—and hydrogen age. No, boys, we're on the way out."

The other three delegates then voted with Stice to dissolve the association.

—Wisconsin State Journal, April 3.

Christ in Italy

Don't think it's only political groups that have to fight to make the Free World free. In Rome the sign "Chiesa di Cristo" (Church of Christ) outside a Protestant church was several times removed by police. Finally this "mobile technique" was devised enabling the church official to pull the sign in quickly when police appear.

"WE ARE SLOWLY COMING TO KNOW THAT WAR IS TOO GREAT A PRICE"

DuBois asks: What is wrong with the United States?

By W. E. B. DuBois

(Full text of Dr. DuBois's address at the Guardian's welcome meeting for Vincent Hallinan, New York, April 20.)

I REMEMBER five great victories whose celebration I witnessed; they proved in the end to conceal such defeats that men afterward recalled with difficulty the good which actually had survived the evil. In the fall of 1893, I saw William II, King of Prussia, German emperor, ride down Unter den Linden in Berlin at the head of his plumed warriors to greet the Crown Prince of Italy at Tempelhofer Feld. There they celebrated the renewal of the triple alliance between Bismarck's Germany, the Italy of Garibaldi and Crispi, and the Holy Roman Empire of Austro-Hungary. The display was magnificent. With flash of sword and roll of artillery the power of central Europe was balanced with impregnable might.

Yet this very alliance spelled the doom of Germany; for in five years came the fatal rivalry of the double entente and the marriage of French capital to Czarist tyranny. With the coronation of George V, King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India and ruler of half the earth, came the second victory which was doom. I saw him in 1911 ride through Trafalgar Square, while behind him marched the massed might of the greatest realm which the world ever saw.

THE LOOT AND THE BRIBE: Yet in all this parade of power rode defeat. For the triple alliance had killed the workers' democracy of Germany, the greatest movement toward socialism which had survived the revolutions of 1848 and sought to fulfill the dreams of the French revolution. With socialism crushed under militarism and the opposition led by the imperial colonialism of the British Empire, the white workers of Europe were bribed by a high wage and a partial socialism which depended on the exploited serfs of Asia, Africa, South and Central America and the islands of the seas. The profit from the darker world was vast: it not only raised white wages, but lifted aristocracy to such heights of luxury and power that the envy and greed of Christendom in 1914 burst into world-wide and bloody war over the loot.

There came a breathless pause in 1918 which men celebrated as the end of the war to end all wars. It was but the beginning. I saw the big three who ruled the world. Woodrow Wilson, flushed and smiling, waving his high silk hat to the milling, cheering throngs in the gardens of the Tuileries; Georges Clemenceau let me lay the plight of Africa before the peace congress of Versailles, while Lloyd George and the American Secretary of State refused to let my delegates have visas to attend.

REVOLUTION: The treaty was signed. The rich voice of the first actress of the Comédie Francaise rang through the great hall of the Trocadero: "It is victory—victory!" A Marshal of France in full regalia kissed a yellow Vietnamese on one cheek and a black Senegalese on the other, and pinned the Legion of Honor on both their breasts. Linked together, victorious Britain, France and America assumed rule over the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa and the semi-colonies of South America and the seas.

But even here the shrieks of defeat outscreamed the paeans of victory. Revolution born of despair burst in Russia, and the "free world"—from the United States to Italy and France to Japan—rose in unison to drown the struggling workers in blood. Ten long and bitter years they fought to drive the Russian serfs back to their kennels. In 1926, I saw the wild children of the damned crawling out of the sewers of Moscow. But the Soviets survived and soon the whole capitalist world from New York to Paris to London tottered toward utter ruin.

HOLLOW VICTORY: In those drear days of disaster from 1930 to 1940, I circled the world. In the vast mosque of Saint Wisdom at Constantinople, I saw those giant stones which once defended the Roman Empire from the Huns; in Berlin I heard Hitler screeching as six million Jews died. I saw Shanghai as Chiang Kai-shek in his nightshirt bashfully promised to fight Japan. I heard Italy carrying in bushels of blood a new Roman Empire to Ethiopia, and the great voice of European civilization summoning mankind to gird itself anew and murder forty million more human beings for "peace and freedom."

When Stalingrad sent Hitler burrowing to his death and strung up Mussolini and his leman by their heels; when Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta called the world to peaceful co-existence and planned the United Nations, I thought that at long last here loomed victory unalloyed with evil. Again I was wrong.

In the opera house of San Francisco, under the presiding of Alger Hiss and the wise advice of Molotov, a charter of a United Nations was adopted in June, 1945. Its great essentials had been agreed upon in April: but for two months thereafter the imperial powers of the world backed by the United States stubbornly fought to make the chapter on colonial trusteeship an instrument which put colonial peoples under Western control. Here was the defeat that lingered even in this victory.

THE MOCKERY OF AMERICA: The next decade was foreshadowed by Franklin D. Roosevelt's death and the accession to power in the United States of uneducated men controlled by the owners of industry and obsessed by colonial imperialism. The world staggered backward; guided by a southern slave-driver we "got tough with Russia." We spent 18 thousand million dollars and killed 50,000 of our sons in order to seize the markets and coolies of Korea and China.

Foiled of this, just as it was dropping into our greedy hands, we proceeded in America to kill our own civil liberties, throttle freedom, stop the nation from thinking, make heroes of liars and rulers of thieves, and render democracy in America a mockery in the eyes of the world. This was called the "American way of life." It was not.

The American way of life had once been simple and clear: equality among citizens, with no special privileges: freedom of belief, thought and expression; the right by individual initiative to work for a wage which would insure decent support, education of a family and security in old age; justice in the courts and a decisive voice in government. This was the American ideal and for this America for 100 years stood before the world until millions from every corner of the earth sought our shores at any sacrifice in order to share this gift of freedom and equality. We never completely reached this ideal. We faltered continually, but slowly, with blood and tears, we staggered toward it; until —bemused by sheer abundance of land and resources, keen wit of our labor and techniques of science—we began unconsciously to center our thought on making and selling things and to forget the makers and the users of the things, and to concentrate all power in owners no matter how they obtained ownership.

THE FINAL SHAME: Thus we began to lose our way of life. We became fantastically unequal in income and power. Individual initiative could achieve security only by surrender of political power and freedom of thought. We even sank below this and justice began to disappear from our courts: we came to be tried by juries not our equals and neighbors but strangers and even enemies. We held accused people guilty until proven innocent. We jailed and killed victims without fair trial. We surrendered the right to know truth. Crime overwhelmed us in filthy flood.

It is to recall such injustices that we are here tonight. Vincent Hallinan was never even accused of crime. Yet he returns to us tonight from conviction and shameful punishment twice: from having his fortune dissipated and his family crucified, and from being held up to public shame—for what? Because he defended Harry Bridges, a labor leader whose repeated and vindictive prosecution by a ruthless bureaucracy is unparalleled in modern civilized jurisprudence and still continues; because Hallinan dared to support a third party in a nation where even a second party is not legally possible today. And finally, because he was charged with breaking a set of confused and contradictory laws on income tax returns which few American citizens, no matter how honest and careful, could avoid breaking if the Department of Justice determined to convict them. The income tax laws are deliberately used to punish criminals for crime which the police cannot prove; and recently to punish political non-conformity.

DELEGATES TO AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE ARRIVING AT BANDOENG AIRPORT
In the center, Prime Minister Kotelawala of Ceylon (with wreath) and Indonesia's Sastroamidjojo (gesturing)

TOO GREAT A PRICE: What is wrong with the United States? It is not simply the will to evil. It is because a nation discovers something it thinks is better than what once it called good. America of freedom and equality suddenly was asked to lead a world whose false glamor its leaders long had secretly envied. We wanted to walk the earth like titled Englishmen, Italian counts and Russian grand dukes. We did not understand that we were too late for colonial imperialism and had to yield freedom to the colored world or give up our own.

We elected to give up our own and to use war to help our effort. The price is too great. That we are slowly beginning to know. We are slowly realizing that the socialism which Germany tried to kill, and which Britain and Scandinavia are beginning to recognize—and which, despite our dismay and hate, is starting to triumph in the Soviet Union and China—cannot be defeated by putting communists in jail or refusing Paul Robeson a passport or murdering the Rosenbergs.

Because Vincent Hallinan, in the face of prosecution beyond decency and justice, is still ready to help fight the eternal battle against wrong, who follows in his train? Remember the swan song of Gustavus Adolphus at Luetzen 300 years ago? Ten thousand voices blended of joy and sorrow sang, in the quaint faith of those days:

Fear not, O little flock, the foe
That madly seeks your overthrow;
Dread not his rage and power.
What though your courage sometimes faints?
His seeming triumph o'er all saints
Lasts but a little hour.

Bandoeng: More than half of humanity met

'The American activities were not very subtle'

The end of the conference

By Wilfred Burchett

BANDOENG, April 25.

FLAGS of the 29 nations represented at the Asian-African conference were lowered this morning. For the first time in the week there are no crowds mounting an unofficial guard of honor outside the conference rooms, although thousands still gather outside the residence of Chou En-lai hoping to catch a last glimpse before he leaves. The Indonesian and Chinese flags still fly side by side over a great part of the city in homage to Chou.

There is still an air of excitement as in the shops and at street corners people discuss the brilliantly successful results of the conference. Its last formal act was the reception given last night by the five sponsoring powers. The extraordinary behavior of the Americans during the conference and outside it was a popular topic of conversation at the reception.

NOT VERY SUBTLE: Dulles' abrupt rejection of Chou's offer of direct talks aroused fierce resentment among most Asian-Arab countries and embarrassment among even the American bloc countries, a number of whom have been pushing for just such a move. But the rejection is in line with all the American activities at the conference. There is nothing very subtle about these.

A few days ago correspondents of the best-known American newspapers and agencies were running around on direct instructions from their head offices—and presumably the State Dept.—showing cables to Asian-African delegates asking opinions on Eisenhower's offer of $3½ billion "aid."

A number of delegates "caught on" and within a matter of hours were launching into violent anti-Communist diatribes, although it had previously been agreed that the conference would not get involved in ideological disputes.

"MAKE IT STRONGER": Even details and tone of speeches were set by the Americans. Correspondents living in Van Hengel Hotel, for instance, heard Romulo of the Philippines rehearsing a fiercely anti-communist speech in the hotel room of American "correspondents."

The latter, including one from **U. S. News** and Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, were telling him:

"Make it stronger, Carlos. Hit out at communism, Carlos."

But the speech was never delivered because it was supposed to support one by Sir John Kotelawala, the previous day on "Soviet imperialism." Sir John, however, had the good sense to withdraw his remarks the next morning before "Carlos" had a chance to speak.

Correspondents were even subject to "breakfast-time indoctrination" by teams of American agents, some of them posing as correspondents.

CHOU EN-LAI
Thousands of Indonesians waited for a last glimpse of China's Premier.

The real Old World
Prime Minister H. E. Saif el Islam el Hassan of Yemen (left) confers with a fellow delegate from the ancient nation far down the Red Sea in Asia Minor. An Indonesian newspaper printed a letter from Augustus J. Johnson, Bronx, N. Y., objecting to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell as self-styled representative of "20 million blacks in America," and preferring James R. Lawson, U. S. president of the United African Nationalist Movement.

The real New World
Indonesia, one of the world's newest great nations, was the host. Above are Dr. Sunario, Indonesia foreign minister (left), with Prof. Roossena, minister of economics. The conference applauded lengthy messages from Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, American founder of the first Pan-African Conference in Paris 30 years ago; and from singer Paul Robeson. Both told the conference they had been denied passports to attend. Their messages were reported in the U. S. Afro-American but not in the white press. Asian-Africans hailed the conference as beginning "a new period in the history of colonial and semi-colonial countries."

Gad, sir, the professor's right!

BURLINGTON, Vt., April 22 (AP) — Ernest Van Den Hahg, professor of Philosophy at NYU, says "the dispensing of knowledge becomes entirely wrong when we address ourselves to the great masses whose intellect is low."

He said educating the masses "destroys reverence" because "there is conflict between knowledge and the myth upon which society rests."

—N. Y. Post, April 22.

BOOKS & PAMPHLETS

Walt Whitman

IN this 100th anniversary of Leaves of Grass, Samuel Sillen's selection from Walt Whitman's writings—first published in 1944—has been re-issued by International Publishers (381 4th Av., N.Y.C. 16; 176 pp., $1.25). This is an excellent selection for those who want the best of "the people's Whitman" culled out from the mass of the poet's work. It comes with an appraisal by Sillen (editor of Masses & Mainstream) of Whitman's life and work in the context of American culture, politics and history.

"Religion" on the grill

HUGH ROBERT ORR, formerly a clergyman, literature professor and founder of San Francisco's Humanist Society, makes a worthy contribution to religious and social satire in **Father Murphy's Escapade** (United Secularists, 4236 W. Cermak Rd., Chicago 23, Ill.; 192 pp., $1.). The fun poked at modern "religious superstition in this Heavenly" Discourse-style fantasy may be too ribald for some, but those who like it that way will find much to think about as well as laugh at.

Hearst in Russia

WONDERS cease to be wonders as history somersaults on, and the name William Randolph Hearst appears respectfully on the cover of a publication of New Century Publishers (832 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3). **We Stand for Peaceful Co-Existence** (31 pp., 15c), collects in one pamphlet—most useful to progressives just because of the interviewer's name—the full text of the interviews Hearst Jr. had last February with the U.S.S.R.'s Khrushchev, Bulganin and Zhukov. What they told Hearst brought about at least a partial change in him; one wishes the collection could have been rounded out with the conversations he must have had, back home, when Sokolsky and other Hearstian pundits tried to brainwash him back into Hearstian "normalcy." —C. B.

2 one-act plays at Mews May 25

CHEKHOV's one-act comedy **The Anniversary**, and a new one-act satire **A Switch In Time**, by Lola Pergament, are scheduled to open May 25 at the Greenwich Mews Theater, 141 W. 13th St. The twin bill, titled **Two For Fun**, is under direction of Jack Sydow.

Sean O'Casey's **Juno and the Paycock**, currently at the Mews, closes May 8.

PUBLICATIONS

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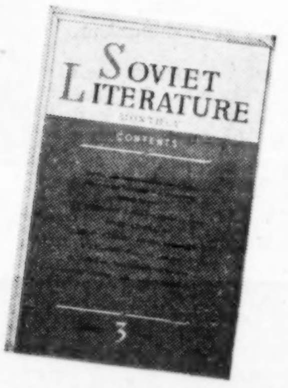

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CALENDAR

Boston

CARL MARZANI tells THE INSIDE STORY OF THE MATUSOW CASE. EDWIN B. GOODELL tells of THE INQUISITION IN MASSACHUSETTS —Wed., May 11, 8 p.m., Community Church Center, 565 Boylston St. Ausp: Progressive Party of Mass.

Los Angeles

FOURTH ANNUAL FESTIVAL of the ARTS. Fri., May 13 to Sun., May 22. May 13—Art Exhibit & Reception. May 14—Poetry Previews. May 15—Music for Freedom, Family Dance Program. May 17—Films: Great artists. May 19—Songwriter's Workshop. May 20-21—LOS ANGELES PREMIERE, ARTHUR MILLER'S "THE CRUCIBLE." May 22—Dance & Folk Song Concert: Valentina Oumansky, Martha Schlamme. Also Children's Art Festival. Call DU 2-4611 for information. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St. (just e. of Vermont).

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STRONG LECTURE

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, noted author, lecturer and foreign correspondent, will make her first New York appearance in many years under the auspices of the GUARDIAN June 1 (changed from May 25). She will lecture on the United States and the Far East today at the True Sisters Clubhouse, 150 W. 85th St.

Miss Strong, who knows the leaders of new China intimately, at presents publishes the monthly newsletter **Today** in California. She will be available for lecture engagements in the N.Y. area from May 18. Address enquiries or ticket orders ($1) for the GUARDIAN meeting to: Strong Lecture, 17 Murray St., N.Y.C. 7.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Low overhead

IS A MASS MOVEMENT A CONSPIRACY?

Reluctant lawyers pose key Smith Act question

By Milly Salwen
Special Guardian correspondence

DENVER, COLO.

ACROSS a polished 16-foot table, 11 lawyers looked cautiously at four men and three women—their first look at their clients-to-be. Probably none of them had ever seen a live Communist before. The defendants—some of them only moments before unlocked from the handcuffs in which they were brought from the jail—found themselves confronting counsel for the Mountain States Tel & Tel and the Public Service Corp., the mayor's brother-in-law and a former treasurer of the Republican Natl. Committee.

These were the lawyers Judge Jean Breitenstein had appointed for them, after weeks of searching and 125 refusals had left them stranded without a single attorney who would touch their case.

The defendants were awaiting trial under the Smith Act for "force and violence" (the Denver **Post** and **Rocky Mt. News** weren't always too careful about the rest of the phrase, "conspiracy to teach and advocate . . .").

"STALLING" FOR LAWYERS: Waiting outside were reporters and photographers from these papers. The pressure had been on for months. When the new Communist Control Act was passed, just 14 days after the defendants' arrest, President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Brownell huddled in Denver on whether to use their new law in this case. Evidently they decided it was inconvenient . . . a little matter of ex-post-facto.

They were in a nurry to rush through the arraignment and trial of the defendants, some of whom were still jailed after five months because the bail—once as high as $100,000 for a single defendant—was out of reach. But they needed lawyers. While those who were not in jail worked through the Denver phone book under "lawyers," the prosecution and local papers denounced the "typical Communist tactics . . . stalling."

> **CALL FOR AMMO**
>
> The Colo. Committee to Protect Civil Liberties (Rm. 307, Cooper Bldg., Denver 2, Colo.), is asking urgently for funds to carry on the Smith Act fight there. The trial continues, with N.Y. atty. Mary Kaufman now on the refense team as counsel for Mrs. Anna C. Bary. Other defendants are her husband Arthur Bary, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Scherrer, Lewis Johnson, Patricia Blau, Harold Zepelin.

Now, while the lawyers sat there before them, they were expected to decide whether to take on these court-appointed men, most of whom, till now, had spoken only for "Seventeenth Street," Colorado's financial center.

Three hours later the doors were unlocked and the snow-haired dean of the Denver bar, William Hodges, dictated to the reporters a statement agreed on jointly beforehand. The defendants agreed to accept the court-appointed lawyers, with one condition: that they still hold the right to find other lawyers "of their own choosing."

DOUBLE SPLIT: They began to work, but within weeks the strains and suspicions on both sides tugged at the bonds of this remarkable union. A month later, they split.

The defendants charged with thinking and speaking walked into court with a motion to fire the lawyers. Their reasons were detailed in a 12-page memo: their opinions were ignored in "an atmosphere of cold indifference"; during the infrequent conferences the lawyers "listened on one foot, so to speak. . . ." There was none of the "personal relationship . . . the confidence so necessary."

In turn, the lawyers, offended, brought in their own motion to be released from what one of them called "this burdensome thing."

SECOND TRY: At once the papers were in an uproar. How could these people dare to turn down "a hundred thousand dollars' worth of legal talent?" But surprisingly, the judge refused both motions and ordered them to try again.

Now the "shotgun wedding" started on another basis. Lawyers and clients began to air out differences and slowly, they really began to work—together. Hodges, chief of the defense staff, a man with much experience in constitutional law, told reporters:

> "We . . . will do battle to the utmost to secure their rights."

The defendants had said earlier that the jury was being chosen by "systematic exclusion" of Mexicans, Negroes, workers, farmers and others. Now the lawyers fought to prove this in court: social workers from the Mayor's human relations committee and the Denver area welfare council, brought in by subpena, told of discrimination. A place was won for a Mexican woman on the jury panel. This time the prosecution didn't use its challenge.

EDUCATION: The trial began. As testimony unreeled smoothly from professional informer John Lautner, the defendants—pure laymen in a courtroom—felt and showed no surprise. It was the experienced legal staff that was astounded at the way standard rules of evidence were twisted to admit hearsay.

At one point while the jury was excused, defense atty. Robert More insisted: "We've got to give these defendants a decent American trial!" (Prosecutor Thomas Mitchell, outraged at the implication, cried: "Nonsensical!) John Shafroth—whose brother-in-law is Denver's Mayor Quigg Newton—spoke angrily about the way the government was presenting its case: he called it "a brainwashing."

When questions arose why Lewis Johnson of Utah was being tried here, in another state, William Naugle had some vivid objections. If a man can be transferred from his home area and tried anywhere in the U.S., he said, and J. Edgar Hoover says there are some 20,000 Communists, "why not hire Yankee Stadium and try 'em all?"

THE "UNNATURAL TENET": Through it all Hodges has spoken rarely; but the other day the room hushed as he stood. The lawyers had been fighting on a question of dates . . . whether material could be admitted although it preceded the date of indictment. Hodges said this was not what he wanted to talk about: "The lawyers are arguing technicalities, and they are doing a good job."

When Hodges speaks, everybody listens. "This," he went on, "is a most unusual case." It was based on "an unnatural tenet."

Then this conservative man, in his late 70's, respected more for his wisdom than his years—the same man who for years had been treasurer of the Republican Natl. Committee — spoke his mind on the Smith Act trials of the Communists.

"The trouble with this case," he said deliberately, "is that the government is trying to make a conspiracy out of a mass movement."

CHAOS ON THE POLIO FRONT

Business drains vaccine while school-kids wait

WHILE Welfare Secy. Oveta Culp Hobby continued blandly confident of "voluntary" controls over the Salk anti-polio vaccine, distribution had broken down into chaos. The vaccine was being siphoned off into the most profitable channels while millions of children ran the hazards of another polio season without the protection science offered.

In a page-one editorial titled "Washington Must Act," the Republican N.Y. **Herald Tribune** pointed to "a national emergency" and said: "The serum can only be and must be controlled nationally." It demanded an immediate Federal law regulating every phase of the vaccine distribution, but specified nervously:

"It must be clearly limited in time and subject so that there will be no doubt that this is an emergency answer to an emergency situation, not a step toward socialized medicine."

DIM PROSPECTS: N.Y. Sens. Ives (R) and Lehman (D) seconded the call for Federal legislation but were vague as to what its provisions might be. In a debate over WABD-TV on Sunday Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) called Mrs. Hobby a "cynic," warmed up Oscar Wilde's definition: "One who knows the cost of everything and the value of nothing." She had also, he said, been shown to be "a very inefficient and inept person."

THE CUTTER SCARE: The groundwork for a Salk vaccine black-market might never have been disclosed if it had not been for the Cutter scare. Of 300,000 children vaccinated with serum from the Cutter Laboratories of Berkeley, Calif., 35 contracted the disease. Experts pointed out that this was a tiny fraction and that it was possible each had the disease before inoculation; in any event the vaccine is not claimed to be 100% effective. In a CBS interview Dr. Hart Van Riper, medical director of the Natl. Infantile Paralysis Foundation, said that if the virus were already present in the body, injection of anything, even water, into the muscle would bring the disease to a head.

Nevertheless, California halted all Salk vaccination temporarily, and Washington ordered a nationwide roundup of Cutter vaccine. In tracking it down, officials found that while public health authorities still waited for shipments (N.Y.C. has ordered the free vaccination of all under 20 but its program is threatened by a continuing shortage), a supply was flowing into commercial channels.

"SHOCKING BUSINESS": Nine doctors were singled out by N.Y.C. Health Commissioner Leona Baumgartner for violating priorities by inoculating adults, who are least suscep-

(Continued on Page 10)

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Polio

(Continued from Page 9)

tible. She called it a "shocking kind of business," referred their names to county medical societies. (The most the offending doctors can get is a "reprimand.")

Three of the six licensed vaccine manufacturers had already shipped to wholesalers and doctors while the public programs to inoculate school children were jeopardized.

TEMPTATION AND LEGISLATION: Some of the wholesalers kept no records of the vaccine, making it impossible to discover whether it had found its way "under the table." City investigators complained that Parke-Davis Co. refused to give them information. The city Board of Health, acting on widening scandal, declared it illegal for anyone but a physician, druggist or "other authorized person" to have the vaccine, restricted all druggists' sales to prescription orders, required everyone handling it to keep records.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** called the city's penalties ($500 fine, a year in prison or both) "light in view of the great temptation offered by the short supply of the vaccine." In the N.J. Legislature a bill was pending to provide a $5,000 fine and two years in jail for unauthorized persons caught with the vaccine.

POLIO PROFITS: N.Y. Atty. Gen. Jacob Javits said he was "looking into" possible black-market operations throughout the state, but N.Y. Health Commissioner Hilleboe said he saw "no reason" for following the city's lead in control legislation.

Connecticut has passed a law giving its Board of Health control over all vaccine entering the state, authorizing the Health Commisisoner to impose priorities, penalties.

But with controls widely varying from state to state and city to city, with many areas of the nation wide open to manipulators, only one thing seemed sure: the Salk vaccine would be a money-maker first (estimated 1955 profits: $20 million), a life-saver second.

OF AND FOR PEOPLE
One of the Mexican subjects from the new show of Anton Refregier's paintings, drawings and ceramics at the ACA Gallery, 63 E. 57th St., N. Y. C. A visitor at the opening remarked: "He paints people but he also paints FOR people."

VE-Hiroshima peace drive launched by ALP

THE American Labor Party has announced a three-month peace drive, beginning May 7—the eve of VE Day—and ending Aug. 6, 10th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing. They aim for 50,000 signatures on postcards and petitions directed to President Eisenhower, urging a top-level conference of big powers.

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Dave Brown story

(Continued from Page 1)

and for the next 12 years he followed it, keeping it secret from his wife, successfully drinking down his qualms.

"IN GOOD FAITH": Shortly after, Mine-Mill opened an organizing drive at the American Smelting Refining Co. plant in New Jersey. At a roadside inn plant Supt. Harms offered Brown a job as personnel manager on the west coast. When Brown declined, Harms told him: "Look, we know how much grief you have to go through and would like to make you an offer in good faith." Charging that "certain radical elements" were trying to disrupt, Harms put the proposition:

> "If you help to maintain harmony in the plant we will be very glad to compensate you on a monthly basis—off the record."

Brown's "off-the-record" earnings came to $200 a month.

SETBACKS: In 1944 the CIO Political Action Committee was working with local Democratic leaders in New Jersey to re-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt. Brown cultivated an acquaintance with David T. Wilentz, who was later to become the state's atty. general but then wielded authority only within the Democratic Party machine. Brown's 1932 impulse to work for the government reasserted itself. He asked Wilentz whether he could get him a job with the Justice Dept. as an informer. The informer racket was then more exclusive and Wilentz told him:

> "With your record? Hell, they wouldn't trust you. Forget about it."

He never quite forgot; but while waiting for his big chance, he turned to lesser sell-outs. Shortly after Mine-Mill was expelled from the CIO, Brown says he opened negotiations with Carl Holderman, right-wing secy.-treas. of the N. J. CIO. His offer: to lead the Volco local from M-M into the CIO. His price: a job as west coast organizer for the CIO. Brown claims he met with Holderman over drinks at a bar and at the home of N. J. CIO pres. Irving Abramson, found both men responsive. He won over the local's executive board to the idea but when, over cocktails, he tried to collect, he says Holderman told him:

> "Look, Dave, we appreciate what you've done. I'm sure it will help. But, to be frank with you, how do we know we can trust you? My advice is to get out of union work, get a job in private industry on the coast."

FIVE-BUCK DAYS: He took that advice, settled in California.

When he came to Los Angeles in 1950, the door he had fruitlessly knocked on suddenly opened. FBI agent Romney Stewart and a companion came and asked him to "co-operate." At first he said, "No," then, as the agents were leaving: "Give me your telephone number."

His first FBI assignment was to follow the "what's-on" column in the **People's World** (west coast left-wing paper), attend meetings and file reports. The rates: $5 a report.

HOW TO SUCCEED: In 1951 the FBI outlined a strategy to him. The government's objective was to prove that the leaders of progressive organizations were CP members, the members dupes. It was important therefore that Brown, who was rising in the progressive movement, rejoin the CP he had left years ago, so the reality would be made to resemble FBI theory.

Toward the end of 1951, Brown recalls, agent Stewart said the Bureau was pleased with his efforts to get back into the party. Stewart promised: "It'll be a feather in your cap . . . it'll put more money in your pocket, much more than you're getting now." He promised $200 a month as soon as Brown was accepted. Brown pressed for an immediate raise. Stewart said:

> "Well, if you were willing to testify in some court cases, you could make plenty. [Brown had told the FBI from the start he would have to stay out of court.] But since you won't there's one way you can boost your earnings, that's to become a head of some party organization like the Foreign Born Committee, the IPP (Independent Progressive Party), the CRC. Now you get up there, that is if you're back in the party, and I can easily get you $250 a month, maybe $300."

THE ROSENBERGS: Brown worked himself up, playing ball with Stewart, feeding him scoops which Stewart relished, says Brown, because every name counted in the FBI agents' hot race with one another to fill dossiers in Washington. (At the SACB hearings Brown testified that he frequently lied in his reports.) Stewart advised Brown carefully on "security," urging him to go easy on drinking and women while waiting for admission to the CP. Brown disregarded Stewart, drank steadily and by his own admission, carried on an active extra-marital sex life.

By the time he headed the California Rosenberg defense committee, Brown felt he needed no instructions. He said:

> "As I left the Rosenberg Committee office [in Los Angeles] with $1,000 in my briefcase of the money given by the people, to meet the rest of the delegation at the airport I phoned Stewart for instructions. Stewart said: 'Hell, Dave, we got Washington covered. You goofed. Here's where we need you.'"

"IMBUED WITH ARDOR": This is the way Brown describes his simultaneous jobs for the Rosenberg Committee and the FBI:

> "The reason I succeeded in fooling everybody, including my wife, was that I was actually imbued with the ardor and drive, working effectively for a policy and program . . . capable of involving people, getting them to make sacrifices. And what's more important, carrying through consistently a fairly high level of correct mass work. . . . When I met with Stewart I was a different person, cynical, hard, a typical police agent glorying in his role of finger-man."

Brown gave CRC officials these memories of his:

> "Flying on the plane to Washington with three other west coast delegates to march in the final White House vigil with Helen Sobell and Dave Alman, then to ride on the train as it passed Ossining at the hour of execution. . . . The meeting of the Rosenberg Natl. Committee at Rosoff's Restaurant, the act of serving as one of the Honor Guard the same night in the chapel at Flatbush. . . .
>
> "Walking with Dave Alman at the cemetery as the dirt was being shoveled into the grave, weeping with him as he put his arm around me. . . . All this with not a thought that I was a hired stoolpigeon of the Justice Dept. and then returning to Los Angeles and delivering a detailed report to Stewart. Did he direct me to go to Washington? No. Did he instruct me to spy on a funeral? No. These things I did on my own—without a conscience or a thought."

THE CRACK-UP: Early in 1954 Brown was admitted to the CP; some time earlier he had become head of the CRC in California. His FBI pay went up to $250 a month. Then in January, 1955, he cracked. On Jan. 3 he disappeared. Three days later he turned up in Portland, Ore., telephoned the FBI. Rushed to Los Angeles, he turned over all his cash ($120) and clothes to agent Stewart, spread the story he had been kidnaped. But within a few days he changed his mind again, confessed the hoax to the CRC, admitted he had been an FBI spy.

Then he vanished again, floating from town to town across the country. Few knew his whereabouts until last week in Foley Square he took the stand as a witness for the CRC to reveal the FBI at work.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"LIFE IN BLOOM,"** May 6-8. Film biography in color of the life and work of Ivan Michurin, famous Russian plant breeder and scientist. Directed by Alexander Dovzhenko with music by Dimitri Shostakovitch. Showings: 8:30 & 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THE ETERNAL MASK."**

Premiere of new musical work **"BALLAD OF ASSER LEVI,"** story of first Jewish-American citizen & civil rights fighter in U.S. Sung by Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus, Eugene Malek, conductor. Sat., May 14, 8 p.m., at Town Hall. Tickets: $1.20-$2.40 at 189 2nd Av. (2nd floor).

Plan a Terrific Week-end with **AMERICAN VETS FOR PEACE** at their 4th **ANNUAL ART SHOW**. Fri Sat., Sun., May 6, 7, 8. 77 5th Av. **ART EXHIBITION** from 1 p.m. plus Fri., Eve.—Forum & Speakers. Sat., Eve.—Folk & Square Dancing. Sun., Eve—Two 1-Act Plays by Topical Theatre.

Jewish Young Folk Singers Concert at Brooklyn Academy of Music, Sat., May 21, 8:30 p.m., featuring concert version of **"SANDHOG,"** with Earl Robinson, Waldo Salt, Pete Seeger, Louise DeCormier, Leon Bibb and orchestra. Tix: $1.15, $1.80, $2.50.

MONTHLY REVIEW BIRTHDAY PARTY. "USA-1955"—Report by Leo Huberman; "New Factors in the Intl. Situation" — Paul M. Sweezy. Guest speaker to be announced. Mon., May 16, at Newspaper Guild of N.Y., 133 W. 44th St. Adm: $1 in adv; $1.25 at door. Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10th St. OR 5-6939.

Children's Hootenanny with **PETE SEEGER, GIL GREEN.** Don't miss Sat., May 7, at 2:30. Songs, dramatic improvisations, refreshments. Peoples Artists Studio 5, 124 W. 21st St. Children 75c, parents 25c, group of 10—50c.

WHERE IS U.S. ECONOMY HEADING?
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The American Socialist
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"The Permanent War Economy"
Friday, May 20 — 8 p.m.
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863 Broadway (nr. 17 St.) Cont. 50c

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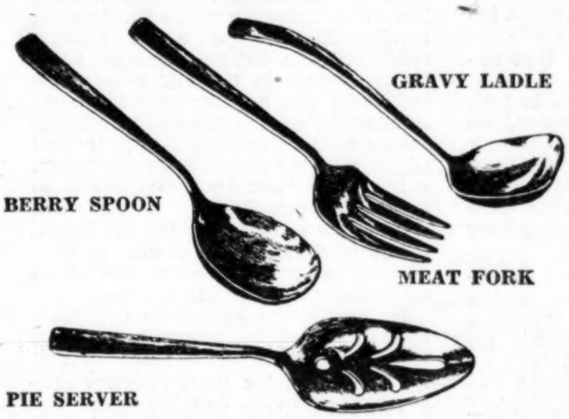

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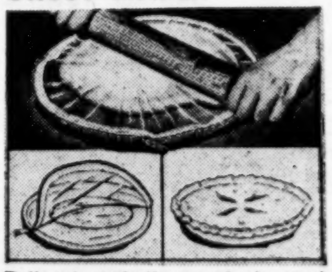

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SEAN O'CASEY

The sunset was grand

It seems to be a big year for O'Casey. The Dublin season was made memorable by an Abbey production of his newest play. In New York his **Juno and the Paycock** is being done in a fine, healthy production at the Greenwich Village Mews. The last volume of his autobiography[1] has also been published here, as well as a big volume of his plays[2] selected by himself and with a preface for Americans. ("Two thirds and more of the support given O'Casey comes from America," the author tells us—which makes one a little more confident of our country.)

Juno (which closes May 8) is a most memorable experience. A tragic farce as topical and local as a Dublin ballad, it has the universal appeal of Moliere. The boastful "Paycock" and his sniveling little pal "Joxer" have entered the gallery of human types beside Don Quixote, Falstaff and Huckleberry Finn.

HE NEVER FORGETS: The six volumes of O'Casey's autobiography stand beside the memoirs of Maxim Gorky among the great documents of the century of the common man.

O'Casey has never lost his capacity for pure feeling. He writes about the tenement tragedies as though it was yesterday, and his heart still young with hot rebellion. He has acquired fame, a little comfort, a beautiful, gracious wife and two sons—but he can never forget his oppressed class, his people. He has some unforgettable portraits of his great friends, Bernard Shaw and William Butler Yeats. He views them with the eye of a loyal friend, and a writer who can understand all their greatness. But he also judges them with the eye of a proletarian—and this is something new in English literature.

The portrait of his "shawlie" mother is immortal. O'Casey has never painted an uninteresting or mediocre woman. They are strong, loving, realistic, enduring—the pillars of the world, in many cases superior to their men. In all of Shakespeare you will not find a queen half as noble and human as O'Casey's mother. When she is dying the tenement boy can't get her into the hospital. He can't pay them in advance. O'Casey curses the money system that commits such crimes daily against the poor. He knows all the cruelty of the so-called "free world," and curses it with a bitter heart and predicts the coming cure. The proletarian anger is in his bones forever, and so is the love.

A FEAST OF LANGUAGE: Proletarian realism like O'Casey's has heretofore been couched in what we thought was the only "realist" style of writing—a reporting that reached its heights in a Tolstoy or a Balzac. O'Casey has let himself soar and laugh and curse in a lyric personal style that is a curious mixture of the literarious punning and word-invention of James Joyce, the rich beauty and imagery of Byron, Shelley and Yeats, the godlike exuberance of Shakespeare. Anyone with an ear for language must love this glorious feast. And his laughter—his folk humor is so wonderful with its bitter wisdom and folly! Only such laughter is tough enough to survive in the world of the H-Bomb!

O'Casey is a writer who has dared to Shakespearize (horrible verb!) College boys have often attempted the same, but failed, because Elizabethan writing isn't just a literary style. It was also a realistic expression of men engaged in a great realistic struggle. They were men of the renaissance, writing on the dark ages of feudalism and idolatry. They were men engaged with real issues. College boys deal only in shadows and literature. Because O'Casey is engaged deeply in the real struggle, his writing is able to catch the grand poetic fervor of the Elizabethans.

O'Casey has brought wonder and imagination back into the literature of the people. We must be grateful to the Master, and try to be as free and imaginative in our writing.

THE TOAST: He is one of the great voices of the people in our time. The people will remember him always. The future belongs to the people, not to John Foster Dulles and Wall Street, not to the little literarious cults, or the "best" parasite families and their acquisitions. The people—the people and their creative work and love! O'Casey ends his autobiography with the rugged optimism of a son of the people, with a toast to Life and the future:

"Here, with whitened hair, desires failing, strength ebbing out of him, with the sun gone down, and with only the serenity and the calm warning of the evening star left to him, he drank to Life, to all it had been, to what it would be. Hurrah!"

—Michael Gold

1 Sunset and Evening Star. Macmillan, N. Y., 339 pp., $4.95.
2 Selected Plays of Sean O'Casey. George Braziller, N. Y., 800 pp., $5.